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ABSTRACT

Differences in academic career participation by men and women and their marital and child bearing rates are assessed along with current research findings on dual-career faculty couples. Case study research on 10 dual-career couples is reviewed, with emphasis on familial relationships resulting from commitment to two careers. Observations regarding dual career couples within the academic setting, and characteristics of both institutions and faculty couples that influence the integration of career and family, are reported. The argument is made that modification of institutional structures to accommodate dual career couples is beneficial to both sides. The case study research suggests that there seems to be little change in the pattern of how household tasks are distributed: overall, dual career families appear to spend less time on housework tasks, children take more responsibility, and husbands contribute slightly more. Sociological research indicates that women continue to spend more time on household tasks than do men and seem to be the major "psychic parent." Research has also suggested that women in dual-career marriages cut off leisure and recreational activities. Perspectives on successful dual-career marriages and the future of these arrangements are considered. (SW)

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THE DUAL CAREERS OF FACULTY AND FAMILY: CAN BOTH PROSPER?

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I

AN OVERVIEW

The problem this paper seeks to address has been succinctly stated by a male teacher in his early thirties:

> ...I lead two lives...one is professional and one is as a family man. The two lives are neither mutually exclusive nor fully compatible....The main problem...is to establish a healthy balance between the two lives in order not to sacrifice my family life now to build for a better family life in the future. The other half of the conflict is, of course, not to sacrifice my career opportunities now...[1]

The conflict here expressed is particularly acute for faculty in institutions of higher education because of inherent pressures in the academic career. Further, for the dual-career faculty couple, these pressures can be exacerbated.

The first section of this paper will report differences in academic career participation by men and women and their marital and child-bearing rates, followed by current research findings on dual-career faculty couples. The second section will report case study research on ten dual-career couples. The focus will primarily be upon familial relationships resulting from commitment to two careers. The third section will report observations regarding dual career couples within the academic setting, and characteristics of both institutions and faculty couples which influence the integration of career and family. The argument is made that modification of institutional structures to accomodate dual career couples is beneficial to both sides.

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A Profile of the Academic Career

Hochschild characterizes the academic career system as a series of positions and accomplishments which are so tightly and competitively measured against other careers that minor differences in achievement count. For example, departments in universities compete to get the "big names" that individuals across the country are competing to become. Competition is as rife between Berkeley and Harvard, between Stony Brook and New York University, between sociology and history, as between this assistant professor and that one. Building a creditable professional reputation in this type of institutional environment requires extensive effort in the early years, hoarding of scarce time, and minimizing of family life. Minimizing family life implies leaving it to a wife. Hochschild believes that the existing academic career structure subcontracts work to the family--work which women have traditionally performed. Thus, if all else were equal, it would be the married "family-free" man with a full-time housewife/mother who would most likely succeed in the academic career system. She concludes that, without fundamental changes in the structure of the academic career and its relationship to the family, it will be impossible for married women to move up in careers and for men to move into the family.[2]

Women's Participation in the Academic Career

Hochschild's conclusions are based in part upon the past participation of women in academic careers. Traditionally, learning and domesticity have been considered incompatible. If a women married, her colleagues assumed she would retire from the academic scene. For example, Caplow and McGee in The Academic Marketplace (1958) noted that women scholars could not look forward to normal professional careers. The few scholars who even mentioned

the subject agreed that female faculty were not part of the academic mainstream.[3]

The employment of women as faculty in higher education has not increased appreciably over the past half century. The numbers of academic women have been curiously resistant to change in the past decade, despite the preparation by graduate schools of increasing numbers of women for employment in academe, the passage of equal-employment legislation and affirmative-action regulations, and the raised consciousness of women academics regarding their status. In 1929-30, women consistuted 28 percent of all college and university faculty members, but by 1959-60 their participation had declined to 19 percent.[4]

During the decade of the most explosive growth in the history of higher education, the 1960's, women lost ground as a percentage of members of regular faculty ranks in four year institutions, especially at the associate professor level, and gained ground only at the instructor level.[5] During the 1970's, progress in increasing the percentage of women faculty has been frustratingly slow: the current percentage of women faculty is still lower than it was in 1930. There has been some increase, however--from 22.3 percent in 1972 to 25.5 percent in 1977.[6] A summary of this progress is shown in Table 1.

(INSERT TABLE 1 HERE)

Patterns of Life and Work of Academic Men and Women

The relationships among careers, marital status, and child-bearing and rearing are being investigated more thoroughly as more men and women find themselves in dual and, occasionally, conflicting roles.[7] Every employed person is faced with the task of defining the relationship between

Table 1

Percent of Women by Rank among Full-Time Instructional Faculty in Postsecondary-Education Institutions, 1959-60 to 1977-78

Rank	1959-60*[1]	1965-66*[1]	1972-73[2]	1975-76[3]	1977-78[4]
Professor	9.9	8.7	9.8	9.8	9.7
Associate Professor	17.5	15.1	16.3	17.0	18.0
Assistant Professor	21.7	19.4	23.8	28.9	31.7
Instructor	29.3	32.5	39.9	40.7	50.0
All Ranks	19.1	18.4	22.3	24.3	25.5

*Data are for four year colleges and universities only.

Sources:

1. Carnegie Commission Report, Opportunities for Women in Higher Education, McGraw Hill Publishing Company, New York, 1973, p. 111; and

2. NCES data, cited in Chronicle of Higher Education, 10 February 1975, p. 8; and

3. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, Salaries and Tenure of Full-Time Instructional Faculty in Institutions of Higher Education, NCES 77-313 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 1; and

4. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, "Memorandum on Selected Statistics on Salary and Tenure of Full-Time Instructional Faculty," 15 April 1978, p. 5.

work and family in his or her life. With today's accelerated evolution of ideas concerning acceptable roles, occupations, and lifestyles, this task is becoming increasingly complex. Two important trends characterize the past two decades: 1) Women are postponing marriage and child-bearing and reducing family size. 2) Married women and mothers are joining the labor force in increasing numbers.[8] However, as Van Dusen and Sheldon note:

> Although marital status and parental responsibilities are likely to become less salient in women's career choices, women will continue to bear the major responsibility for their children, and it is their careers that will continue to be marked by the need to accommodate both parental and occupational roles.[9]

Academic women are no different from other employed women in their need to accomodate both career and family roles. According to Freeman:

> Of all the aspects of an individual's life--social origins, attitudes, professional activities--none more sharply distinguishes the female professor from her male colleague than family relationships. In choosing to marry or not, in selecting a spouse, and in deciding whether to have children, females face a much different set of options and costs than do males.[10]

Marriage

Almost all male faculty marry at some point in their lives, yet from one-third to over one-half of the female faculty never marry. Of the academic women at highly rated universities, 40 percent were single. At prestigious institutions such as the University of Wisconsin, the percentage of single women rises to 55.6 percent. Yet, only 8 percent of male faculty at highly rated universities have never married; and in the general popultaion only 3 percent of adult women and 4 percent of adult men are single.[11] The relationship between marital status and academic rank for male and female faculty in highly rated universities is summarized in Table 2.

(INSERT TABLE 2 HERE)

For men, academic rank is strongly related to marital status, and being married is a great advantage. For women, however, being single is a relative advantage. Married women are not as likely to be promoted as single women, although married men are more likely to be promoted than single men.[12] Hochschild comments on similar data as follows:

> It is one thing for a woman to freely decide against marriage or children as issues on their own merits. But it is quite another matter to be forced into the choice because the career system is shaped for and by the man with a family who is family-free.[13]

Unfortunately, research to date has documented the marital rate, but not the reasons for marriage or non-marriage. However, people tend to marry persons with similar educational backgrounds and intellectual interests. Eighty-eight percent of married academic women working at highly rated universities had husbands with professional or doctoral degrees.[14] As increasing numbers of women pursue academic careers, more departments will be confronted with the dual career academic couple, both of whom seek employment within geographical proximity.

Child-Bearing and Rearing

The traditional child-bearing and child-rearing years, ages 25-34 are also the years in which the pressure involved in completing doctoral work and doing the research and publication necessary to win tenure is greatest. Women, during these years, are much more likely than their male counterparts to have no children (46 percent of women faculty as compared with 20 percent of men faculty); or fewer children (only 15 percent of women faculty reporting having three or more as compared with 33 percent of male faculty).[15]

Table 2

	Faculty Married to First Spouse		Faculty Married to Second or Later Spouse		Faculty Who Never Marry	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professor	38%	6%	52%	6%	16%	17%
Associate Professor	22%	12%	22%	23%	18%	23%
Assistant Professor	28%	36%	17%	36%	41%	30%
Instructor or Lecturer		46%		36%		30%

Source: Freeman, 1977, p. 171.

It has been suggested that because married women normally take on the primary responsibility for managing a household and rearing children (women Ph.D's spend about 28 hours per week on household tasks), they simply are unable to produce professionally at the rate of their single colleagues. However, Freeman found no difference in the publication rates for married and single women.[16] (Married men, however, publish both articles and books at a higher rate than single men).

Further, in a study by Hamovitch and Morgenstern, there appeared to be no evidence of a diminution of scholarly productivity by women, as measured by numbers of publications and peer evaluation, because of the presence of children in the household.[17] In a sample of all Ph.D. recipients under 40, the average number of children of married women was 1.13 compared with 1.89 for married men. Though the researchers found that female faculty publish 20 percent fewer articles than male faculty, neither marital status nor the number of children were found to be significantly related to the publication rate of the women. Instead, 64 percent of the observed differences appeared explainable by variables other than sex, for instance, more hours of teaching responsibility and teaching exclusively undergraduates.[18] Nor was there a significant relationship between the probability of being listed as an outstanding scholar by their peers and child-rearing duties of women. Positively related to being selected for outstanding female scholar were the number of years since receiving the Ph.D.; the earning of a doctorate from one of Cartter's list of the top 12 universities; the teaching in a university instead of a college; and, if married, the husband's income.[19] The authors hypothesized that for the married women the higher income of the husbands "buys" hired help in child-rearing and housekeeping. They also suggest that women professionals with children not only pursue fewer leisure activities and make more extensive use of their

limited time, but tend to be more professionally capable and highly motivated than childless academic women and are therefore equally productive.[20]

Institutional policies and practices can have a positive or negative effect on men and women dedicated to both professional and family lives. For example, part-time tenure track positions are particularly helpful to men and women with young children, but are rarely available. More rare are adequate day care centers. Freeman comments that most universities appear to operate from the viewpoint that if academic women get pregnant it is their problem;[21] but child care facilities are at least as important as the faculty lounges, athletic facilities, and parking lots most institutions readily provide, especially if women are to be attracted to academic careers.

The Dual-Career Academic Couple: Current Research

The way each person integrates work and family in his or her life may be described in terms of the extent to which the integration is accommodative. Traditional patterns of marriage and career have tended to be non-accommodative insofar as women's occupational and family involvement is concerned. Today, however, more young couples are committed to an equitable relationship.[22] Huber summarizes the dynamics underlying these changing patterns in the following statement:

> A person who maintains a self-definition with no social support is mad; with minimum support, a pioneer; and with broad support, a lemming. Most of us are lemmings. We accept or change our ideas about rights and duties only when we perceive social support for doing so. In the United States, social and occupational identities are closely related; a person is what he or she does.[23]

Job market research by Berger et al. on dual-career academic couples illustrates Huber's point well. Dual-career academic couples are first faced with the extremely difficult task of finding two positions that will permit them

to live in the same geographic area, coordinate their schedules to accomodate household and child care tasks and satisfy marital relationships, and meet short and long-term professional goals of each spouse.[24]

The Berger, et al. study encompassed 160 job-seeking couples in which one member of the couple had a Ph.D. in either psychology or the biological sciences, and the couple had searched together for positions within the past five years. The researchers found that the largest number of couples chose egalitarian job-seeking strategies initially. In response to a job market uncongenial to dual-career couples, however, the traditional decision was taken and the husband's career was given precedence. Only one quarter of the total sample made egalitarian final decisions, though many other couples indicated that, had the job market permitted it, they too would have chosen a strategy to advance both careers.[25]

These results were confirmed in a later attitudinal study of psychology and sociology department chairpersons asked to respond to the question: "Overall, how likely is it you would support the hiring of a professional couple?" [26] Thirty-seven percent of the responses were opposed, 25 percent were neutral, and 38 percent were favorable to the hiring of professional couples. Thus, the job-hunting team is equally likely to be greeted with support or opposition. Further, discontinued anti-nepotism rules are kept alive in the attitudes of many chairpersons.[27]

One of the authors of this paper recently received verification of persistent negative attitudes about dual career couples when this reply was received to a request for information about a faculty position:

> Regarding the possibility of our hiring both of you, I think we would have problems. While we screen as a department team, speaking for myself, I would be worried (without knowing anything about either of you) about what would happen if one of you did not measure up. The psychological pressure of handling this delicate problem is the kind of thing that makes my life miserable, and I confess to not wanting to face it. Although _____ has some husband-and-wife teams around campus, I am unaware of any who were hired on that condition.

A small number of dual-career couples have solved the problem of finding two positions in the same geographical location by choosing a commuting lifestyle. A recent study of dual career couples compared the lifestyle of 54 commuting individuals to ten ex-commuters, ten individuals who had divorced while commuting, and 20 individuals not commuting. Sixty-four percent of the women and fifty two-percent of the men in the sample were in the academic profession. Limitations to a commuting lifestyle were found to be a low income and the presence of children. Only 25 percent of the commuters had children under 12 and none had children under four. Disadvantages cited were in sexual and social relationships, and in communication among partners. Advantages of commuting marriages were perceived to be increased autonomy, ability to work more intensely while apart, and improvement in the marital relationship.[28]

Dual career couples no longer job-seeking but employed in the same field experience other problems. Two hundred couples holding husband-wife membership in the American Psychological Association were asked to discuss the most significant problems (professional, social, or personal) that they had encountered as the male or female member of a professional pair.[29] The older individuals and those who had no children were more inclined to see advantages in the relationship. However, approximately 20 percent of the subjects cited social prejudice and professional slights. Such couples frequently encountered expectations that they would behave as though they were in traditional

male/female roles. Institutions were reported as taking advantage of couples in some cases by employing one partner while expecting the other to work for no salary, lower salary, or less benefits because they were "stuck" in the community. Women in the professional pair earned less than other women, even though they were found to be more productive than other women.[30] Career conflicts cited were: problems of job mobility for job-seeking; demands on each individual's time and energy; inability to equitably share household tasks, with the workload most commonly falling on the women; feelings of competition and resentment between marriage partners; and the couple's bringing home problems from work.[31] The researchers concluded that, though a few cases of obvious sex discrimination were mentioned, they accounted for only a small proportion of the problems discussed. Major issues were in the continued existence of role conflicts in dual career marriages. Such conflicts were typically at the expense of the women's personal identity and professional performance.[32]

Indications are that problems arising from dual-career families will proliferate as these families proliferate, and the question remains: Can both family and career prosper under these conditions? The case study research which follows examines this question in the light of ten families' experience.

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PART I

Footnotes

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[6] Gappa and Uehling, op. cit., forthcoming.

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[8] Van Dusen, Roxann A., and Sheldon, Eleanor Bernert. "The Changing Status of American Women: A Life Cycle Perspective." American Psychologist 106, 1976, p. 108-09

[9] Ibid., p. 114.

[10] Freeman, op. cit., p. 170.

[11] Ibid., p. 170-72.

[12] Ibid., p. 171-72.

[13] Hochschild, op.cit., p. 69.

[14] Freeman, op. cit., p. 173.

[15] Gappa and Uehling, op. cit., and Freeman, op. cit., p. 173

[16] Freeman, op. cit., p. 172.

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[18] Ibid., p. 638.

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[21] Freeman, op. cit., p. 173

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[30] Ibid., p. 326

[31] Ibid., p. 327-329

[32] Ibid., p. 330

II
A CASE STUDY OF CONTINUOUS DUAL-CAREER FAMILIES

Introduction

The Rapoports[1] in their inquiry into professional women's work patterns, discovered three broad divisions: "Conventional" where the woman drops her career when she marries or has children; "interrupted" where the woman stops working when the children are small but intends to resume her career later; and "continuous" where the woman interrupts her career only minimally, or not at all, when she has children.

Although the "continuous" work pattern has not been acceptable in the past, attitudes are changing, and it is reasonable to infer from current career aspirations of college-educated women, changes in the employment pattern of married women with children, and anti-sex discrimination legislation, that the national percentage of continuous dual-career families is likely to increase. This possibility would seem to be supported by the Harris Poll quoted by Beck[2] which found that the percentage of women who believe that taking care of a home and raising children are more rewarding for women than having a job had declined from 71 percent in 1971 to 51 percent in 1976. But while women's attitudes are changing, there is not evidence that men's attitudes are changing correspondingly. There are also the pervasive systemic obstacles faced by the married career woman. The Modern Language Association of America's Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession has compiled documentary evidence of the difficulties encountered by some of its members. One member writes:

> When I received my Ph.D. in English from Berkeley in 1970 I was not prepared for the discrimination I would encounter . . . in trying to work in my profession. Naively I thought that the apprenticeship I had served . . . an especially difficult Ph.D. program undergone as the mother of one, then two, and finally three children, as wife and housewife to boot . . . was my ticket to my chosen field.

and gives a reply from one departmental chairman:

> We would rather hire a young person who was not placed at all, that is someone who didn't already have a breadwinner in the family.[3]

Bryson et al. who surveyed professional pairs in psychology found that anti-nepotism policies were more likely to constrain the wife's career than the husband's and that it was the wife who was denied a position or requested to resign (in the event of marriage to a colleague) rather than the husband. Among the grievances reported by the professional academic wives were departmental unwillingness to offer tenure-track positions, offers of part-time work only, part-time pay for full-time work, and a tendency to be treated as extensions of their husbands. It is significant that the husbands in these professional pairs as mentioned earlier, tended to be extremely productive; they perceived advantages in their marital pattern and were satisfied with both their careers and family life. Although their wives tended to be more productive than other professional women, they were less productive than their husbands, more likely to feel discriminated against, and less satisfied with their careers.[4] The case studies reported here, however, do not support the Brysons' findings for they do not indicate a lower productivity by the females of dual-career couples, a greater sense of discrimination, or less satisfaction with their careers.

Unfortunately, the literature frequently fails to distinguish between dual-career couples with children and those without, yet the distinction is vital, for it is the birth of a child which creates unprecedented problems

for couples. However, evidence shows that continous dual-career families deliberately choose a life-style including a commitment to children.

In the study reported here, ten "successful" continuous dual-career families were interviewed in depth, using a guided interview approach based on an instrument constructed by Rapoport and Rapoport. Of the twenty parents, nine were academic professionals (six of whom were women) while one had to leave academia as a result of retrenchment. Care has to be exercised, therefore, in attempting to draw conclusions since the sample is so small.

The mean family income was $38,500, and the mean individual salary $19,500. The mean age of the husbands was 41 and that of the wives 38. The ten families had a total of 20 children, 11 female and nine male. The mean number of children per family was two, and the mean age seven years, six months.

(INSERT TABLE 3 HERE)

Integration of Work Situations

While it might seem that the partners in dual-career families would be inclined to integrate their respective work situations to a high degree so that their professional lives would be compatible enough to allow for mutual support and accommodation, the individuals in this study did not support such a hypothesis. Of the ten families, seven had practically no integration and, even in one family where both parents were teaching professors, there was a marked lack of this factor. Further, in only five families did the partners show any real interest in each other's work, and in four of these it was almost minimal. Only in one family, G, was there genuine enthusiasm about the other's work and friendship with his or her work colleagues.

TABLE 3
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE: PROFESSIONS, SALARIES AND AGES OF PARENTS: NUMBER, SEX AND AGES OF CHILDREN

Families	PARENTS Profession	Salary P.A.	Age at Time Of Interview	CHILDREN Number	Sex	Age
Mrs. A	Academic (Geneticist)	$30,000+	39	3	F	11
Mr. A	Psychiatrist	30,000+	41		F	9
					M	5
Mrs. B.	Academic (Teacher Education)	15,000+	38	3	F	16
Mr. B	Academic (Humanities)	20,000	39		M	8
					M	1
Mrs. C	Academic (Nurse Education)	15,000	39	2	M	15
Mr. C	Minister of Religion	20,000	42		M	13
Mrs. D.	Academic (linguistics)	15,000	32	3	F	6
Mr. D	Business Owner (Former Academic)	3,000[a]	35		F	3
					M	1
Mrs. E	Actuary	20,000	33	1	F	5
Mr. E	Antigue Dealer	0[b]	34			
Mrs. F	Illustrator (Medical)	15,000-	45	2	M	8
Mr. F	Sculptor & Part-time Academic	15,000-	50		F	5
Mrs. G	Academic (Researcher)	15,000+	47	2	F	15
Mr. G	T.V. Producer	30,000	50		F	11
Mrs. H.	Teacher (Public School)	20,000	29	1	F	1
Mr. H	Lawyer-Accountant	30,000	31			
Mrs. I	Academic (Political Science)	15,000-	37	1	F	1
Mr. I	Psychotherapist	18,000-	41			
Mrs. J	Lawyer	30,000+	40	2	F	12
Mr. J	Academic (Research Psychiatrist)	30,000+	45		M	7

[a] Mr. D had formerly been an academic who had been retrenched. At time of interview, he had recently opened his own business

[b] At time of interview, Mr. E was still being financed for the opening of his new business.

Inevitably, there were times, such as emergencies, when integration was vital; even so, it was not achieved without friction and, almost without exception, it was the women who made the accomodation.

Division of Household Tasks

In order to generate a picture of the internal family structures, information was obtained by examination of 20 common household tasks. Although husbands and wives were questioned separately, their replies coincided closely and differences were insignificant.

The tasks examined were: hiring of domestic help, routine food shopping, preparation of everyday and special meals, special household purchases, cleaning of the house, washing clothes, ironing and mending, household maintenance, gardening, care of the car, preparation of children for school, transportation to and from school, care of children during school holidays, preparation of children for bed, disciplining, holiday planning and organization, and selection of professional and financial management.

In all the domestic arrangements that were examined, it became apparent that, with respect to the families in this study, no matter how equal the men and women were in their careers, or how deeply they believed in equality of the sexes, when it came to the traditional household chores, they reverted to traditional sex roles. There was practically no trace of an egalitarian approach or of role reversal in the chores examined, and both husbands and wives performed the household roles culturally associated with their sex. Not one wife expressed resentment of this role stereotyping, however, and it would seem obvious that until women themselves break out of the traditional mold and alter men's perceptions of domestic roles, the stereotyping will continue.

Child Care

All the families shared real concern over child care and most of them had struggled, unsatisfactorily, through a variety of expedients. Perhaps most extreme was the case of one faculty member (teacher education) who had interviewed 40 applicants before selecting one to look after her child.

The solutions to the problem of child care fell into four categories: live-in staff used by two families, full-time daily staff used by six families, part-time staff used by one family, and a full-time infant center used by one family. Most families in the study had largely similar views on child rearing. They wanted a meaningful family life for their children; and, although they could be described as easygoing, there was little, if any, permissiveness. Although many families had paid domestic help, those children who were old enough were expected to accept responsibility for themselves and participate in family chores. Probably the one factor that stood out clearest in these family relationships was respect and individual consideration for one another with an extension, where applicable, to the domestic staff.

Personal Motivation

The families in this study were not uniform in their composition or in the motivations that had produced their lifestyles. However, there were themes that appeared to transcend individual variations.

The wives tended to be only children and, where they had siblings, these were few in number. If the siblings were of the same sex, there was, in every case, severe rivalry.

The majority of wives came from families in which there had been tension and a lack of familial harmony, although they usually had had a good relationship with one parent or a relative.

Five of the husbands were only children and the others did not come from large families. And although they did not come from emotionally tense homes, they came largely from economically poor families and were of a lower social class than their wives. Further studies might well determine whether the husbands married because they were upwardly mobile or whether the wives selected husbands from a lower social class in order to maintain their power base.

The Dual Career Choice

Although in most families it was not economically essential that the wife follow the dual-career pattern, it was of considerable importance in more affective and subjective ways. Most of the partners felt that they were in a creative relationship with each other and that they positively enjoyed their lifestyle despite its inevitable disagreements and conflicts. In several cases the husbands felt it essential that their wives should have an identity outside the family.

While several of the husbands would have preferred their wives to work a little less extensively, they all approved and actively encouraged them to pursue their careers. This approval and encouragement meant a great deal to their wives, particularly to those who had guilt feelings about the possible effects of their work on the children.

Career Precedence

All of the families suffered over conflicts concerning career precedence, particularly in the years immediately following the birth of the first child. Those couples who had been married the longest reported that they had largely resolved the problem, but there was no single, simple resolution. Some families agreed right from the beginning that neither partner's career would be subservient to the other's.

There was no evidence of rivalry or envy on the part of the husbands in those cases where the wives were playing the dominant career role. They were able to accept this without rancor, even where their wives were largely supporting the family financially. It was apparent that the men had strong self-images as well as the ability to identify with their wives in mutual support of their families. In these cases, too, the men were starting their own businesses; and thus might hope to equal or surpass their wives' salaries eventually.

Strains

All families experience strains. Those living in complex metropolitan cities appeared to be subject to some peculiar to their environment.

Overload

Every family interviewed experienced work overloads caused by the fact that neither partner was at home to undertake conventional household duties, care of the children, and arrangement of social activities. These problems varied in intensity and length, affecting husband and wife alternately as their job demands fluctuated and as domestic crises occurred.

The most common technique in handling the overload problem was to employ paid domestic staff--rarely so easy as it might appear. These professional families had high standards and expectations, and the staff they hired rarely met their exacting requirements.

Any extra domestic work involved was invariably absorbed by the parents, leading to a narrowed circle of friends and, usually, to a loosening of kinship ties. There was a marked lack of social activities, limited attendance at professional meetings and, with only one exception, little religious activity outside the home. Each family was fiercely independent and determined to be as self-sufficient as possible.

Environmental Sanctions

Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport consider that the women in their study "had to deal with dilemmas arising from the clash between their personal norms...."[5] While these dilemmas were found in the wives in the study reported here, they were by no means as significant as they were for their British counterparts.

It was apparent from this study that, although the couples led socially restricted lives with a limited number of friends, these friends were very close to them. It is most probable that these friends had been selected, perhaps unconsciously, because they were supportive and understanding and because they provided an atmosphere in which the dual-career wives could be comfortable.

Personal Identity

While a few of the husbands had experienced dilemmas of identity particularly in the early years of marriage, they were of little significance when compared with those of most of the wives in this study. The husbands had maintained traditional sex roles in choosing their culturally "masculine" professions and understandably had few problems of identity, since they maintained culturally acceptable roles both at home and work. On the other hand, the wives, in at least three cases, had, in their careers, crossed conventional sex barriers. Although all the wives were "advanced" in the sense of having full-time careers as well as children, they reverted, after work, to the normative sociocultural prescription of the wife's role--caring for the home and family.

Social Network Dilemmas

Although each couple's social-network pattern necessarily differed from the others' and was affected by personal circumstances, professional relationships, service relationships, obligations, and a host of other variables, not one family maintained extensive social relationships. The salient reason for this relative isolation was a sense of responsibility for and devotion to their children. Several families called in relatives, usually the wife's mother, for help, but none of the families felt comfortable with this arrangement. Kin relationships in fact deteriorated when the dual-career couples found that they were simply unable to meet traditional social obligations and expectations. Both husbands and wives reported this loosening of kinship ties, but the husbands appeared to experience the greater loss.

However, the dual-career families in this study rarely complained about these social-network restrictions, accepting them as an inevitable characteristic of their chosen lifestyle.

Dilemmas of Multiple Role Cycling

In a conventional family structure, the family cycle typically supports the husband's work cycle. At the time he is establishing himself in his profession, for instance, he is relieved of domestic strain. If they do have children during this period, the wife is available to look after them.

In dual-career families, on the other hand, both partners simultaneously pursue careers and manage a home life--a fact that contains the germ of role conflict. In this study it was found that most couples, including the academics, had attempted to establish themselves professionally before having children, thus easing potential conflict to some degree. Those who were successful were,

of course, better able to finance the support services their children necessitated. Where children were born before the parents had established themselves professionally, considerable role dilemmas occurred, although the couples rarely suggested that the wife drop out of a career or that either partner lighten a professional load.

Gains for Husbands and Wives

Self-Expression and Job Security

Many of the dual-career families obviously enjoyed the challenge of their lifestyle. The women, in particular, felt that they had gained in self-expression and self-esteem, and this theme was dominant in all their interviews. In addition, at least 12 individuals, including the academics had occupations that provided a great deal of job security. But although the majority of those studied had well-paying careers, the dual career pattern for them was not necessarily financially rewarding, since one family spent over half its income on child care, and several others experienced severe financial strains.

Gains for Children

The belief that the children of a working mother are deprived of certain advantages accrued to children of a mother who stays at home has not been substantiated by research. A consensus of the available material would probably show that the mother's employment in a satisfying profession is related to positive patterns of psychological and social development.

Any comments on the characteristics of the children in these case studies are necessarily subjective, but from the parents' reports and direct observations it appeared that the children were independent, resourceful, and self-confident. In some cases the mothers had a tendency to overcompensate when they came home from work, but they were aware of this behavior and in no

sense could any of the children be called "spoiled." Those who were old enough had regular household duties, and they accepted these as their fair contribution to the family pattern. They showed considerable pride in their mothers' careers, and the occasional complaints they had were of a temporary nature.

Summary and Remaining Questions

Even though these families appear content with their present life-style, there are many questions still unanswered. The viability of a continuous dual-career family as a lifetime commitment depends on a delicately balanced and intricate nexus of factors: physical, psychological, social, economic, ethical, and emotional. Will the parents stay together when the common bond--the children--is removed? What would happen if one partner moved to a distant location? What would happed if a child, or a parent, became seriously ill for a prolonged period?

Parsons[6] believed that women can only follow the same career patterns as men if profound alterations in the family structure occur--a veiw Holmstrom[7] would oppose since she endorses change in the occupational structure instead. It is not evident from these case studies that either the familial or the occupational structure has changed yet, but it does appear reasonable to suggest that such changes would most probably not be so drastic in families where at least one parent is an academic. There are comparatively few managerial and professional occupations where the individual has so much control over his/her time schedule as does the academic, or where vacations tend to coincide so closely with those of school children. Whatever the profession, however, the family structure will have to undergo some alteration to handle domestic and child-bearing chores. Moreover, most non-academic employing organizations still prefer to more fully reward full-time staff who can work a regular eight-hour day.

It remains to be seen whether, in the future, those professional men and women who came of age during the heigntened awareness of the last decade will form a family lifestyle that will benefit both parents of a dual-career family and whether institutions will accomodate them in their efforts. Part III of this paper will explore these questions and offer recommendations both to institutions and to individuals toward smoothing the way for successful dual-career lifestyles.

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PART II

FOOTNOTES

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III

OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FIELD

Introduction

Discussions about the feasibility and/or desirability of dual career families abound these days. In undergraduate classrooms the faculty of tomorrow assert that they'll have both career and family with no problem. The faculty of today look at them with a mixture of bemusement and frustration, realizing they will see things differently in their late twenties when real, not theoretical, choices must be made. On faculty search committees members try to judge how likely it is that candidate X will come and what influence the career on the spouse of X will have on the decision. Over the lunch table in the faculty dining room, individulas talk about how they deal with the multiple choices and pressures of dual-career marriages.

What are the conditions which enhance the feasibility of thriving dual career families, and how can we respond creatively to the challenges that dual career couples pose so that both the individual and the institution prosper? First, a definition: Many American families are two worker families--families in which both the woman and the man have salaried employment outside the home. Another sizable portion of American families are what the sociologist Papanek[1] calls two person-one career families--the intact families in which both the man and woman put their energies into the development of his career. She types the papers, runs the household, raises the children, entertains the associates, and undertakes the civic duties while he progresses through professional school, into middle management, and eventually to the

"top" of his profession. The two-career family differs from these other two in that both the woman and man work outside the home and both are actively involved in developing a profession and a lifestyle which demands intense involvement--long hours and much psychic energy. In dual career families the question of who performs the household tasks and how any given decision affects the long-range success of each partner takes on heightened significance. Second, marriage itself between two professional people involves some modifications in the plans and styles of the two individuals. But it is the arrival of children, more than marriage, which brings the dual-career question to the fore. Third, men and women are increasingly gaining parity in education, at least at the bachelor's degree level. Equal numbers of women and men finish college, with similar grades, albeit with different career fields. Larger numbers of women go on to post-baccalaureate work and larger numbers of them finish graduate training. In spite of the growing levels of educational attainment of women, however, the earnings gap between men and women continues to grow, and advancement beyond the "middle" (however, it's defined in a particular career field) rarely happens for women. Advancement to the top of any field is highly dependent on subjective factors. When women seek to reach the top, their family-work factors situations take on additional salience.

Finally, just how many dual-career marriages are there? We know that over fifty percent of American women now work outside the home; some of them must pursue careers parallel to those of their husbands. But a review of the descriptive literature on dual career families shows that most are junior-senior relationships.[2] Although both women and men have careers, hers is almost secondary in some respect--it got started after his, rarely before;

she earns less, although she loves it more; she works part time by choice; her's is an ill-defined area, perhaps an organizational cul de sac, while his is main line and has a well understood career path. Analysis suggests that for every ten dual-career situations we might identify, eight or nine of them are situations in which the woman is the junior partner in terms of status, perceptions, rewards.

On the other hand, while the number of dual career families is quite small and likely to remain so given societal conditions, modifying university structures to accommodate them is a high priority for at least three reasons: 1) it directly benefits the university-as-employer by shoring up faculty morale in a period of retrenchment; 2) it demonstrates to the broader community of students and public that alternative work patterns are both feasible and desirable; and 3) it provides concrete evidence to those trained by the university that women can expect to use their educations in ways of direct benefit to society and to themselves.

The Situation As It Stands

The path to traditional career advancement is stacked against women in the sense that the demands and timing for success leave no life space for personal considerations--indeed success often demands a helpmate. The problem was brilliantly stated by Hochschild. She says, careers are seen as series of contests "which in turn are based not so much on doing good work as on getting credit for doing good work." In her analysis she shows how neither discrimination nor fear of success limit women so much as a reward system which favors the married, family-free man. "I think," she continues,

> we have what amounts to a tacit policy toward the family. Let us consider the following: if all else were equal, who would be most likely to survive under the career system--a man married to a full-time housewife and mother;

> or a man whose wife has a nine-to-five job and the children in day care; or a man who works part-time, as does his wife, while their children are small? I think the general principle that determines the answer is this: To the extent that his family (1) does not positively help him in his work or (2) make demands on his time and psychic energy that compete with those devoted to his job, they lower his chances for survival. This is true insofar as he is competing with other men whose wives either aid them or do not interfere with their work. Other things being equal, the university rewards the married family-free man.[3]

Because most women are not married family-free men, their chances for successful careers, when combined with dual career marriages, are reduced.

There is a second societal condition which works against the establishment of successful dual-career marriages. These marriages seem most likely to occur when the timing of marriage and the arrival of children do not interrupt the woman's professional preparation and practice. Bernard[4] discussed possible career patterns when the four major components in the lives of women are considered (marriage, child-bearing, professional preparation, and the assumption or resumption of professional practice). In studies of successful women she found the critical variable to be the timing in the break between preparation and career assumption. Women who married and reared children before their education and professional launching or women who delayed family and children until after they were successfully established were more successful than those who began child-rearing after the completion of their education but before assumption of their professional roles. The pattern Bernard calls early-interrupted (education, marriage, children, assumption of career) is related to lack of success--and it is clearly the pattern most commonly followed by young dual-career couples.

As the case study research described in Part II suggested, there seems to be little change in the pattern of how household tasks are distributed.[5] Overall, dual career families appear to spend less time of housework tasks.

In dual career families, children take more responsibility, and husbands contribute slightly more. But sociological research shows that women continue to put in more hours per week on routine household tasks than do men. The result of this is less time for professional pursuits on the part of women and less leisure time to work off fatigue, develop interests, and simply rest from the pressures of the job. It also amounts to a reinforcement within the family of the power relationships in society at large where men command the options.

In addition to spending more time on household tasks, women in dual-career marriages still seem to be the major "psychic parent." Jean Curtis developed this term to refer to the situation well know to people in most dual marriages. Yes, dad did take Mary to the dentist. But it was mom who (1) remembered that Mary needed to go to the dentist, (2) made the appointment, (3) wrote the note to get Mary excused from school and reminded her to take it to school, (4) saw that Mary brushed her teeth and wore one of her least disreputable pairs of jeans that day, (5) reminded dad to take Mary the morning of the appointment, (6) paid the bill when it came in the mail and (7) posted the next six month appointment on the family calendar afterwards. Psychic parenthood involves a lot more than simple numbers of hours spent in cleaning and laundering. And psychic parenthood, along with household tasks, does not seem to be shared equally between partners in a marriage.

Research on women in dual-career marriages shows that fatigue and lack of recreational interest is a serious physical and mental health problem. Conversation with faculty women will reveal the same. They work hard and are good scholars and teachers; they are conscientious parents. But they must cut off the leisure and recreational activities that are sustaining over the long run because they simply lack the time.[6]

As mentioned earlier in this paper, one question which is raised again and again is just what effect dual career marriages have on children. The early research, based on a suspect methodology and growing out of certain biases, emphasized the negative effects. More recent work concludes that the children of dual career marriages are at least unaffected and at best encouraged to be more independent by two working parents.[7]

Of course, money helps. Couples who have been established in their careers for some time, couples who practice in high-return specialities, or couples who have family resources to draw on are in a favored position. Clearly, money will purchase the services that the family requires but which neither parent is able to provide--household help, prepared meals, efficient appliances, services in the house and yard.

Benefits of the Dual-Career Marriage

Discussions of how dual-career marriages operate always take a problem-solving focus, for instance, how do the people involved work out the inevitable structural and personal conflicts? There is another way to look at these marriages, for instance, how do the multiple work and family roles of men and women in two career marriages interrelate to reinforce and assist one another and what benefits derive from a sharing of both personal and professional activities? Such interaction can be highly positive. Each partner learns from the experiences of the other; each has a colleague who understands the situation and can offer helpful advice.

One particular practice which contributes to a successful dual-career marriage is the one in which an older man remarries or marries for the first time a woman younger than himself. He has established himself career-wise; he may have already begun a family. His marriage to a younger woman--often someone he meets professionally who is also well established--leads them into

a very different situation than his first marriage or hers if she were marrying a younger person going through the career build-up stage with her. They may decide not to have children of their own, but enjoy his. He seems more willing to compromise and be flexible, allowing her to develop her career--presumably because he has already done so. She has the security of his experience to share; she does not deal with the competition between them.

Certainly competition exists in dual-career marriages, and it can operate constructively or destructively, depending on a wide variety of factors. But the competition question is overstated by those who observe dual-career marriages and seems to come more often from the dean or chairperson contemplating it than from the individuals likely to experience it.

A final observation: in successful dual-career marriages, not only do women succeed in the work place, men assume broader domestic responsibilities and develop the nurturant side of themselves. Involvement in the home and in child care teaches a whole new set of skills and reinforces usually ignored emotions in men. This development of their expressive side is not only personally rewarding to those who do it. It can bring new perspectives to their university work--no, the executive committee cannot meet on Sunday afternoon; no, female candidate X's break of five years in her education does not imply she lacks motivation; yes, leadership skills developed in community organizations may very well transfer into university situations.

What of the future of dual-career marriages? What are we likely to see? What conditions can we create as a society or as employers to make dual-career marriages easier to attain?

The Situation As it Might Be

Most of the tensions in dual-career marriages seem to surface when the woman, who entered the marriage as the helpmate to the man and as the mother of

his future children, decides that she has aspirations of her own and that their marriage relationship will have to be modified in order to accommodate her emerging interests. The view of marriage as a fixed contract and of change in that contract as the woman's failure to live up to her responsibilities--a view frequently expressed by men--seems most dramatically in need of alteration.

The rejection of the idea that each person has only one career per lifetime is equally critical. Each person has, in fact, a series of careers throughout the adult life cycle and flexibility can and should be introduced to the benefit of all family members.

Alternate work patterns would help enormously. Job pairing, job sharing, part-time work and paid educational leaves would all contribute flexibility to the employment situation. Increased flexibility in turn would mean that more individuals could make choices which would insure equity in their marriages, because they would be reassured that the choices they made would not lock them in to particular situations.

When any given couple is making a decision--can he get an internship and she get into a graduate program in the same locale?--there is a tendency to rely on "rational" criteria. That is, he should go to the most prestigious place he can for his internship because he, the medical doctor, will always make more money than she, the future professor of public policy. "Rational" in these cases always translates into amounts of money and commonly accepted standards of prestige. So not only does their original choice of career fields put him ahead in the status game, future decisions exacerbate the differences between them. Recognition of this process can lead to the decision that because a professorship in social science is less financially rewarding and possibly lower in status, the training decision ought to be made in her favor--she gets

into the best school she can, and he takes whatever internship is available. This decision is "rational" on new grounds--the effects it will have on the future equity between them [8] and the future well being of their families.

Which brings us back to our original question: can both career and family prosper in a dual-career family? Well it depends. We need changes in both traditional family structure and institutional structure to accomodate dual-career couples. And that depends on the good will of many people in many institutions whose business it is to find the best professionals for leadership positions in tomorrow's world.

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PART III

FOOTNOTES

The author of this section, Dr. Jean O'Barr teaches a course on two-career families and public policy. A copy of the syllabus for "The Changing Roles of Women and Men: Dual Career Families" is available for $1.00 from the Office of Continuing Education, 107 Vivins Building, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27708

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